

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUANDA 0127

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PDEV, AO, MZ, PO

SUBJECT: PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS DISCUSS ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

FOR AF/S O'NEILL FROM ARENALES

1. DURING JANUARY 24-25, AF/S DEPUTY DIRECTOR ARENALES HELD SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS IN LISBON WITH GOP MINISTER FOR INTER-TERRITORIAL COORDINATION ANTONIO DE ALMEIDA SANTOS; DECOLONIZATION COMMISSION MEMBER MAJOR ANTONIO METELO; DR JOAO PEQUITO, FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; AND MINISTER VILLAS BOAS, FONOFF DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. CONVERSATIONS CENTERED ON ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, BUT INCLUDED REFERENCES TO GUINEA-BISSAU, CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, AND SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE.

2. MOST SUBSTANTIVE SESSION WAS WITH ALMEIDA SANTOS, WHO COVERED MOST TOPICS RAISED BY METELO AND VILLAS BOAS AND PROVIDED ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS INTO GOP'S EXPECTATIONS AT END OF DECOLONIZATION PROCESS. EMBASSY LISBON HAS REPORTED DISCUSSION WITH DR PEQUITO, DURING WHICH ARENALES DESCRIBED MISSION OF FORTHCOMING STATE-AID STUDY TEAM TO MOZAMBIQUE AND RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER GOP
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INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO ACT AS GUARANTOR FOR LOANS TO ANGOLA

AND/OR MOZAMBIQUE DURING PERIOD OF THEIR TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENTS.
VILLAS BOAS ADDED NOTHING TO OTHER TALKS.

3. ANGOLA. BOTH ALMEIDA SANTOS AND METELO WERE MEMBERS GOP NEGOTIATING TEAM WITH ANGOLANS AT ALGARVE. METELO WAS STEADFASTLY OPTIMISTIC REGARDING ANGOLA'S FUTURE, INSISTING THAT "REALITIES" OF SITUATION WOULD FORCE LIBERATION GROUPS TO FIND WAYS TO WORK TOGETHER IN PURSUIT OF THEIR COMMON INTEREST, I.E., A STABLE, INDEPENDENT ANGOLA. REALISM WOULD ALSO FORCE THEM TO FIND WAYS TO ADMINISTER THEIR INDEPENDENT COUNTRY AND TO KEEP IT ECONOMICALLY HEALTHY.

4. ALMEIDA SANTOS WAS NOT SO SANGUINE. HE FORESAW A ROCKY PERIOD TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE AS SCHEDULED NOVEMBER 11, FOLLOWED BY SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS A YEAR FROM NOW. HE OBSERVED THAT THE THREE LIBERATION GROUPS HAD DONE LITTLE MORE THAN PAPER OVER THEIR DIFFERENCES VIA A SHAKY MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE INSPIRED BY A GOP DECISION TO OPEN TALKS ON ANGOLA'S INDEPENDENCE ON JANUARY 10 WITH WHOMEVER CAME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IT WAS THIS DEADLINE, HE SAID, THAT ENABLED SAVIMBI TO PERSUADE AGOSTINHO NETO AND HOLDEN ROBERTO TO MEET IN MOMBASA AND TO REACH AGREEMENT THERE ON GROUND RULES FOR TALKS WITH PORTUGUESE. (FORMER ANGOLA HIGH COMMISSIONER ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO INDICATED TO CONGEN THAT SELECTION OF KENYA FOR MEETING WAS MADE BY LIBERATION GROUPS, WHO OBTAINED KENYATTA'S AGREEMENT TO HOST TALKS.) ALMEIDA SANTOS SAID HE WAS UNHAPPY WITH PROSPECT OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, WHICH WILL CONSIDERABLY HEAT UP POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE LATER THIS YEAR. SANTOS ADDED THAT HE HAD MADE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL THAT WAS REJECTED BY LIBERATION GROUPS, AND THAT GOP ACCEPTED CURRENT FORMULA TO KEEP NEGOTIATIONS GOING.

5. WITH REGARD TO LIBERATION GROUPS, ALMEIDA SANTOS APPEARED CONVINCED THAT FNLA TROOP STRENGTH, WHICH HE BELIEVES WILL CONTINUE INCREASE WITH SIZEABLE ASSISTANCE FROM MOBUTU, WILL GIVE FNLA ULTIMATE CONTROL OVER ANGOLA, ALBEIT PERHAPS TEMPORARILY. HE WAS ALSO IMPRESSED BY WHAT HE BELIEVES BE ROBERTO'S ABILITY MOVE ANGOLAN REFUGEES IN FROM ZAIRE, AND THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL TO FNLA IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. WHILE HE SCOFFED AT ROBERTO'S CLAIM OF ONE TO ONE AND ONE HALF MILLION, ALMEIDA PUT "MOVABLE" REFUGEES (AS OPPOSED TO PERMANENT

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ANGOLAN RESIDENTS OF ZAIRE) AT SOME 400,000, OF WHICH HE BELIEVED ROBERTO (WITH MOBUTU'S HELP) COULD MOVE SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER.

6. CONCERNING MPLA, ALMEIDA SANTOS FORESAW EARLY DISINTEGRATION OF BOTH CHIPENDA AND ANDRADE FACTIONS. HE BELIEVED CHIPENDA HIMSELF WOULD PROBABLY END UP IN FNLA, BUT THAT ANDRADE GROUP INTELLECTUALS WOULD MOVE TOWARD NETO. WHILE HE HAD LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT UNITA, HE FORESAW SAVIMBI REMAINING A FREE AGENT WITH NO COMMITMENTS TO

ANYONE WHILE ABLE TO TALK TO ALL AND TO ACT AS MODERATOR BETWEEN
OPPOSING FACTIONS. HE CONSIDERED THIS WOULD BE A PARTICULARLY
USEFUL ATTRIBUTE DURING EARLY MONTHS OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.
(SAVIMBI'S BEHAVIOR SINCE HIS RETURN TO ANGOLA JANUARY 27
SUPPORTS THIS FORECAST.)

7. CABINDA. ALMEIDA SANTOS INDICATED WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION THAT
HE BELIEVES THE KEY TO CABINDA'S FUTURE IS MOBUTU. SO LONG
AS FNLA'S MILITARY STRENGTH IS PREDOMINANT IN ANGOLA, HE SAID,
MOBUTU'S POLITICAL INTERESTS IN CABINDA WILL BE SECURE
AND CABINDA WILL REMAIN PART OF ANGOLA. SHOULD FNLA LOSE CONTROL IN
ANGOLA PROPER, HOWEVER, MOBUTU WOULD PROBABLY MOVE INTO CABINDA
USING REMAINING FNLA STRENGTH HELD IN RESERVE FOR SUCH A CONTINGENCY.
ALMEIDA INDICATED BELIEF THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD MOBUTU
PERMIT MPLA CONTROL OF CABINDA WITH ATTENDANT STRANGLEHOLD ON HIS
ACCESS TO SEA. (DURING VISIT TO CABINDA WITH CODEL DIGGS JANUARY 27,
LOCAL MPLA DELEGATION COMPLAINED BITTERLY THAT MPLA FACES UPHILL
STRUGGLE IN ENCLAVE AGAINST "ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF CABINDA GULF
AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF MOBUTU.") ALMEIDA SANTOS SAW NO THREAT
TO CABINDA FROM BRAZZAVILLE (NOR TO SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE FROM
GABON).

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8. RE PORTUGUESE TROOP STENGTH, ALMEIDA SANTOS SAID HE

EXPECTED FULL COMPLEMENT OF 24,000 TROOPS TO REMAIN IN ANGOLA UNTIL FEBRUARY 26, 1976 (BY WHEN, ACCORDING TO ALVOR AGREEMENT, THEY SHOULD ALL BE PHASED BACK TO PORTUGAL). HE ADDED HE EXPECTED THAT "MORE THAN SYMBOLIC NUMBER" WOULD BE ASKED TO STAY ON AFTER THAT.

9. MOZAMBIQUE. MAJOR METELO STRESSED GOP'S CONCERN OVER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN MOZAMBIQUE, BUT NEITHER HE, ALMEIDA SANTOS NOR PEQUITO PROVIDED DETAILS, NOTING THAT PORTUGUESE STUDY TEAM WAS THEN CONCLUDING VISIT TO MOZAMBIQUE. ALL URGED THAT APPROPRIATE MEMBERS OF OUR STUDY TEAM CONSULT WITH THEIRS FOLLOWING SURVEY OF MOZAMBIQUE'S ECONOMIC SITUATION. PEQUITO NOTED THAT A WEST GERMAN TEAM, HEADED BY DR CHRISTIAN HEIMPEL OF GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE, WAS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND WOULD PROBABLY REMAIN UNTIL MARCH. ALMEIDA SANTOS FELT ECONOMIC SITUATION WOULD LEAD TO SOME DETERIORATION POLITICAL SITUATION AND SAID THAT HE EXPECTED FRELIMO TO ASK GOP TO MAINTAIN A SIGNIFICANT TROOP STRENGTH IN COUNTRY AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

10. CAPE VERDE ISLANDS. BOTH METELO AND ALMEIDA SANTOS INDICATED CONCERN OVER FUTURE OF CAPE VERDIANS AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "SOMEONE" WOULD PROVIDE FOR THEM. BOTH INSISTED ISLANDS OF
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CONSIDERABLE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE WHICH WESTERN POWERS (READ U.S.) SHOULD TAKE CARE DO NOT FALL INTO WRONG HANDS. ALMEIDA SANTOS SAID ISLANDS HAD COST PORTUGAL SOME \$40 MILLION ANNUALLY IN LAST FEW YEARS, AND AFFIRMED GOP NOT PLANNING CONTINUE SUBSIDY AFTER INDEPENDENCE EXCEPT TO VERY MINIMAL EXTENT THAT MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO PREVENT STARVATION. HE HOPED OTHERS, INCLUDING INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES WOULD FIND WAYS TO OBVIATE EVEN THIS NEED. POLITICALLY, BOTH HE AND METELO INDICATED EXPECTATION CAPE VERDIANS WOULD OPT (PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF PAIGC) FOR ASSOCIATION WITH GUINEA-BISSAU. THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD NOT IMPROVE THEIR ECONOMIC SITUATION.

11. COMMENT: STRONGLY SUPPORT RECOMMENDATION IN LISBON 450 THAT FINANCIAL MEMBER OF U.S. STUDY TEAM TO MOZAMBIQUE STOP IN LISBON EN ROUTE LOURENCO MARQUES TO CONSULT WITH MEMBERS GOP'S FINANCIAL TEAM, AND THAT U.S. TEAM LEADER RETURN TO WASHINGTON VIA LISBON. ALL GOP OFFICIALS CONTACTED INDICATED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN EXCHANGING INFORMATION ON MOZAMBIQUE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND DISCUSSING WAYS TO ALLEVIATE THEM. ALL GAVE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT GOP GREATLY RELIEVED AT HAVING BEEN ABLE NEGOTIATE DECOLONIZATION OF ALL AFRICAN TERRITORIES, BUT THAT IT HOPES BE ABLE PHASE OUT IN AS RESPONSIBLE A MANNER AS TIME AND PORTUGAL'S LIMITED RESOURCES PERMIT. ALSO RECOMMEND THAT FINANCIAL MEMBER U.S. TEAM STOP IN LUANDA ON RETURN FROM LOURENCO MARQUES. WHILE STABILITY OF ECONOMIC SITUATION HERE SEEMS DEPEND DIRECTLY ON DEGREE OF POLITICAL STABILITY IN COMING MONTHS, ONE SIZEABLE PROBLEM THAT COULD DEVELOP INVOLVES EVENTUAL APPORTIONMENT OF RESOURCES OF BANK OF ANGOLA. WE WOULD

BE ONE STEP AHEAD OF SITUATION IF WE TOOK ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITY
FOR EARLY LOOK AT SITUATION. CONGEN KILLORAN CONCURS IN THIS
RECOMMENDATION.
KILLORAN

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